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Espoz y Mina, F

BREVE EXTRACTO

DE

LA VIDA

DEL

GENERAL MINA.

PUBLICADO POR EL MISMO.

LONDRES:

IMPRESO POR TAYLOR Y HESSEY,

13, WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL,

Y 93, FLEET STREET.

1825.

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A SHORT EXTRACT

FROM

THE LIFE

OF

GENERAL MINA.

PUBLISHED BY HIMSELF.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR TAYLOR AND HESSEY,

13, WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL,

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BREVE EXTRACTO.

Muchas veces el Gobierno Español me invitó oficialmente para que escribiera mis campañas; y muchisimas mis amigos tubieron el empeño de que las publicase. Pero los acontecimientos de mi vida han sido tan varios, que en unas epocas me ha faltado el tiempo, y en otras la tranquilidad para formar los apuntes que debian preceder à aquel travajo. Tampoco su importancia me servia de gran estimulo.

Desde que la suerte, obligandome por segunda vez à emigrar, me condújo à Inglaterra, el empeño de que dejo hecha

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A SHORT EXTRACT.

The Spanish Government invited me officially many times to write my Campaigns, and my friends have as often requested me to publish them; but the events of my life have been so various, that at some periods I had no leisure, and at others the tranquillity necessary to arrange the Notes, which ought to form the basis of such a work, was wanting. Neither did its importance stimulate me much.

More particularly, since my destiny, obliging me a second time to emigrate, has conducted me to England, the re-

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mencion se redobló en tales terminos que dificilmente pude llegar hasta hoy, sín consagrar mis ratos ociosos à la estensíon de dichos apuntes, como pretendian algunos. Trato, por fin, de complacerlos; quiero empezar á ocuparme de ello; y algun dia saldrá à luz mi historia con todos los detalles que la curiosidad pudiera apetecer. Entretanto, motivos poderosos, que reservo dentro de mi mismo, me impelen à adelantar un ligero extracto, cual es el siguiente.

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quests above-mentioned have increased to such a degree, that I have with difficulty withstood, to this day, the dedication of my leisure moments to the writing of the said Notes, as some would have had me do. I wish, at length, to please them: I will begin to employ myself therein; and at some future period, my History, with all the details which curiosity can desire, shall be published. Meanwhile, powerful motives, which I reserve to myself, impel me to give before-hand the following brief extract.

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MIS PRINCIPIOS

Y

CAMPAÑA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA.

Naci en Ydozin, pueblo de Navarra, à 17 de Junio de 1781. Fueron mis padres Juan Esteban Espoz y Mina, y Maria Teresa Ilundain y Ardaiz, honrados labradores del pais.

Luego que aprendí à leer y escribir, me entregué à las labores del campo; y cuando mi padre murió, quedé encargado de la pequeña hacienda que constituía el patrimonio de mi familia. Asi viví hasta la edad de 26 años.

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MY ORIGIN

AND

CAMPAIGN OF INDEPENDENCE.

I WAS born at Idozin, a village of Navarre, on the 17th of June, 1781. My parents were John Stephen Espoz y Mina, and Mary Terese, Ilundain y Ardaiz, honest farmers of that province.

As soon as I had learnt to read and write, I devoted myself to the labours of husbandry; and when my father died, I took charge of the little farm which constituted the patrimony of my family. In this manner I lived till the age of 26 years:

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Inflamado entonces mi amor patrio con la alevosa invasion de Napoleon sobre la España en 1808, despues de haber causado à los Franceses cuantos males pude desde mi propria casa, la abandoné, y senté plaza de *soldado* voluntariamente en el batallon de Doyle el dia 8 de Febrero de 1809.

Asociado poco despues à la Guerrilla de mi sobrino Xavier Mina, seguí en la misma clase de *soldado* hasta 31 de Marzo de 1810, que disuelta esta Guerrilla por la captura de dicho mi sobrino, siete hombres me reconocieron por su comandante, y con ellos principié à mandar.

Incontinente se me nombró *Comandante en Gefe de las Guerrillas de Navarra* por la Junta de Aragon; destino que desempeñé desde 1º de Abril de 1810 hasta 15 de Setiembre del mismo año.

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My patriotism being then excited by the treacherous invasion of Spain by Napoleon in 1808, after having done all the harm I could to the French in my own village, I abandoned it, and enlisted as a *Soldier* in Doyle's Batallion, on the 8th of February, 1809.

Having joined, a short time after, the Guerrilla commanded by my nephew Xavier Mina, I continued still as a private *soldier*, till the 31st of March, when this Guerrilla being disbanded in consequence of the capture of my nephew, seven of the men named me their Chief, and with them I began to command.

Immediately after I was named *Commander-in-Chief of the Guerrilla of Navarre*, by the Junta of Aragon; in which command I continued from the 1st of April, 1810, till the 15th of September, of the same year.

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Succesivamente obtúbe de la Regencia del Reyno, que gobernaba durante la ausencia y cautividad de Fernando VII en Francia, los grados y mandos siguientes; los cuales serví por el tiempo que se expresará.

Coronel graduado y Comandante General de las Guerrillas de Navarra, sin dependencia de otro Gefe, desde 16 de Setiembre de 1810, hasta 4 de Junio de 1811.

Comandante General de Infanteria y Caballeria de la Division de Voluntarios de Navarra, con retencion del mando de su 1er. Batallon, desde 5 de Junio de 1811, hasta 18 de Noviembre del propio año.

Brigadier de Infanteria con el mismo mando, desde 19 de Noviembre de 1811, hasta 16 de Abril de 1812.

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I successively obtained from the Regency of the Kingdom, which governed during the absence and captivity of Ferdinand VII. in France, the following ranks and commands, which I held during the periods here expressed.

The rank of Colonel and Commandant-General of the Guerrillas of Navarre, independent of any other Chief, from the 16th of September, 1810, till the 4th of June, 1811.

Commandant-General of the Infantry and Cavalry of the Division of Volunteers of Navarre, retaining at the same time the command of its 1st Batallion, from the 5th of June, 1811, till the 18th November of the same year.

Brigadier of Infantry, with the same command, from the 19th November, 1811, till the 16th April, 1812.

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Mariscal de Campo en los mismos terminos, desde 17 de Abril de 1812, hasta 4 de Junio del propio año.

Segundo General del 7º Egercito, desde 5 de Junio de 1812, hasta 6 de Setiembre, del mismo año.

Y Comandante General del alto Aragon à la izquierda del Ebro, con independencia del General en Gefe del 1er Egercito, conservando los mandos anteriores, desde 7 de Setiembre de 1812, hasta 3 de Octubre de 1814

Luego que fuí nombrado *Comandante en Gefe de las Guerrillas de Navarra*, desarmé à todos los que estaban à la cabeza de ellas y señaladamente al llamado Echeverria. Este, bajo la mascara de guerrillero, con 600 à 700 infantes y unos 200 caballos era el terror de los pueblos, à quienes saqueaba y oprimia de mil maneras; lo que les obligó

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Major-General, with the same command, from 17th April, 1812, till the 4th June of the same year.

Second General in command of the 7th Army, from the 5th June, 1812, till the 6th of September of the same year:

And *Commandant-General of High Aragon to the left of the Ebro, independent of the General-in-Chief of the 1st Army, retaining still my former commands,* from the 7th September, 1812, to the 3d October, 1814.

Immediately after I was named *Commander-in-Chief of the Guerrillas of Navarre,* I disarmed all those who were at the head of them, and particularly one named Echeverria. This man, under the mask of Guerrillero, with from 600 to 700 infantry, and about 200 cavalry, was the terror of the villages, which he plundered

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à representarme contra èl. En su consecuencia, pasé à Estella el 13 de Julio de 1810; y habiendolo arrestado por mi mismo, dentro de una casa donde se hallaba, y con fuerzas muy inferiores, el propio dia lo hice fusilar con tres de los principales cómplices, y reuní sus soldados à los que yo mandaba, que no excedian entonces de 400 hombres de todas armas.

Durante esta campaña dí ó sostúbe (sin contar los pequeños encuentros) 143 batallas y acciones de guerra, de las que las mas distinguidas son por orden alfabético las de Aibár, Añézcar, Arlabán, Ayérbe, entre Salínas y Arlabán, Eríce, Yrurózqui, Lerín y campos de Lodósa, Mañéru, Noáin, Perálta de Alcoléa y Cábo de Sáso,

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and oppressed in a thousand ways; which obliged them to complain to me concerning him. In consequence, I proceeded to Estella on the 13th of July, 1810, and having myself arrested him, in a house where he was at the time, though my force was considerably inferior to his, I caused him on the same day to be shot, together with three of his principal accomplices; and I incorporated his soldiers with those I commanded, who did not exceed at that time 400 men of all arms.

During this campaign, I gave battle, or sustained the attack (without reckoning small encounters) in 143 regular or occasional actions, of which the most distinguished are, in alphabetical order, those of Aibár, Añézcar, Arlabán, Ayérbe, between Salinas and Arlabán, Eríce, Irurózqui, Lerin and plains of Lodósa, Mañéru, Noáin, Perálta de Alco-

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Piedramilléra y Monjardín, Plaséncia, Rocafórt y Sangüésa, Sangüésa, y Valle de Roncal. Y menos remarcables, aunque siempre gloriosas, las de Acédo y Arquíjas, Alcubiérre, Alfáro, Barasoáin, Beriáin, Biúrrun, Boquéte de Embíc, campos de Auza, de Mañéru, de Muruzábal, Canfrán, Carrascál, Castillíscar, Castillo de la Alfagería en Zaragóza, Ciráuqui, Egéa de los Caballeros, Estélla, huertas de Zaragóza, Huésca, Jáca, junto à Albáina, Lumbiér, Mendigorría, Mendíbil, Monreál, Názar, Olcóz, Oyárzun, Puente la Réyna, Puéyo, Sáda y Lérga, Santa Cruz de Campézo, Sarása, Segúra, Sorláda, Sós, Tafálla, Tarazóna, Tiébas, Tiérmas y Sangüésa, Tudéla, y Venta de Oyárzun.

De las acciones que nombra el parrafo anterior, en la de Rocafort y Sangüésa con 3,000 hombres escasos derroté à 5,000, les

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léa and Cábo de Sáso, Piedramilléra and Monjardín, Plaséncia, Rocafórt and Sangüésa, Sangüésa, and Valle de Roncal. And less remarkable, although glorious, those of Acédo and Arquíjas, Alcubiérre, Alfáro, Barasoáin, Beriáin, Biúrrun, Boquéte de Embíc, the plains of Auza, of Mañéru, of Muruzábal, Canfrán, Carrascál, Castillíscar, Castillo de la Alfajería in Zaragóza, Ciráuqui, Egea de los Caballéros, Estélla, the plains of Zaragóza, Húesca, Jáca, near to Albáina, Lumbiér, Mendigorría, Mendíbil, Monreál, Názar, Olcóz, Oyárzun, Puente la Réyna, Puéyo, Sáda and Lérga, Santa Cruz de Campézo, Sarasa, Segúra, Sorláda, Sos, Tafálla, Tarrazóna, Tiébas, Tiérmas and Sangüésa, Tudéla, and Venta de Oyarzun.

Of the actions named in the preceding paragraph,—in that of Rocafórt and Sangüésa, with scarcely 3,000 men I routed 5,000,

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tomé su artilleria, è hice mas de 2,000 muertos, heridos y prisioneros; en la de entre Salínas y Arlabán destrozé completamente al enemigo, le hice como 700 muertos, aprisioné todo el comboy que conducia, y rescaté de 600 á 700 Españoles que llevaba para Francia; y en la de Mañéru aniquilé del todo, con perdida de su artilleria, la Dibision Abbé de cerca de 5,000 hombres, pasé la mayor parte de la caballeria al filo de la espada, y perseguí los restos durante la noche por espacio de cinco leguas hasta las puertas de Pamplona. Seria difuso è impropio de este extracto continuar la indicacion de lo ocurrido en otras varias.

Entretübe en Navarra por espacio de 53 dias à 26,000 hombres que hubieran concurrido à la batalla de Salamanca, puesto

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took their artillery, and caused the enemy the loss of between 2,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. In that between Salinas and Arlaban, I completely routed the enemy, killed 700 of his men, took all the convoy they were escorting, and liberated from 600 to 700 Spaniards, whom they were carrying prisoners into France; and in that of Mañeru, I entirely destroyed, with the loss of its artillery, Abbé's Division, consisting of 5,000 men, put the greater part of its cavalry to the sword, and followed up the remainder during the night, for the space of five leagues, to the very gates of Pampeluna. It would be too minute and improper to continue in this extract the details of what occurred in various other actions.

I kept in check in Navarre 26,000 men for the space of 53 days, who otherwise would have assisted at the battle of Sala-

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que marchaban á reunirse al Egercito de Marmont; y cortando los puentes è inutilizando los caminos, impedí tambien el paso de 80 piezas de artilleria que de otro modo habrian jugado en ella.

Contribuí al feliz resultado de la decisiva batalla de Vitoria; porque si con los movimientos que hice, no hubiese impedido la reunion à los Franceses de las Dibisiones Claussel y Foi que contaban de 27 à 28 mil hombres, è interceptádoles su correspondencia, el exito hubiera sido muy dudoso.

Entre los cuadros que mientras esta guerra se cuentan rotos en España, tres lo fueron por mi, à saber: el de Plaséncia, donde à pesar de la superioridad del enemigo, hice prisioneros à 1,200 infantes

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manca, as they were on their march to join Marmont's Army; and by cutting down the bridges, and breaking up the roads, I prevented the advance of 80 pieces of artillery, which would otherwise have been employed in that battle.

I contributed to the happy result of the decisive battle of Vittoria; for if, by the manœuvres I executed, I had not prevented the junction of the French Divisions Claussel and Foi, which consisted of from 27 to 28,000 men, and intercepted their correspondence, the issue would have been very doubtful.

Among the instances in which, during the war in Spain, the enemy's squares were charged with success, were three squares broken by me, viz. that at Placencia, where, notwithstanding the

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y degollé à toda la caballeria; el de Sangüésa, donde acometí á la columna llamada *Infernál*, le quité 900 hombres y perseguí las reliquias hasta Sós; y el de Lerín y campos de Lodósa, donde puesto à la cabeza de mi caballeria, y à pesar de que el General Barbot se hallaba con 3,000 hombres à un tiro de fusil del campo de batalla y que 6,000 hombres mas se encontraban à tres leguas, rompí repetidas veces el cuadro formado por los enemigos que eran de infanteria, è hice prisionera y muerta una columna de 1,100 hombres, de los que solo pudieron salvarse el Gefe que mandaba y dos mas.

Porque enfurecidos los Franceses con los desastres que experimentaban en Navarra y no poder exterminar mis tropas, me em-

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superior numbers of the enemy, I made 1,200 infantry prisoners, and put to the sword the whole of his cavalry; that of Sangüésa, where I charged the column called the *Infernal*, took 900 men prisoners, and followed up the remainder as far as Sós; and that of Lerín and the plains of Lodósa, where, at the head of my cavalry, and notwithstanding General Barbot was only at the distance of a musquet-shot from the field of battle, and that 6,000 men more were only three leagues off, I broke several times the square formed by the enemy, who were infantry, and killed or took prisoners a column of 1,100 men, of whom only the Commander of the column, and two others, escaped.

The French, rendered furious by the disasters they experienced in Navarre, and by their fruitless attempts to exterminate

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pezaron à hacer una guerra horrorosa en 1811, ahorcando y fusilando à cuantos soldados y oficiales mios caían en su poder, lo mismo que à los interesados de los voluntarios, y llebando à Francia infinitas familias, dí el 14 de Diciembre de ese año una solemne Declaracion compuesta de 23 Articulos, el primero de los cuales decia: *En Navarra se declara guerra à muerte y sin cuartel, sin distincion de soldados ni gefes, incluso el Emperador de los Franceses.* Y este genero de guerra lo egecuté durante algun tiempo; teniendo siempre en el Valle de Roncal un cuantioso repuesto de prisioneros: si el enemigo ahorcaba ò fusilaba un oficial mio, yo hacia lo mismo con cuatro suyos; si èl un soldado, yo veinte. Asi logré aterrorizarle, y le obligué à proponerme la cesacion de tan atroz sistema, como se verificó.

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my troops, having begun a horrible mode of warfare upon me in 1811, hanging and shooting every soldier and officer of mine who fell into their hands, as also the friends of the volunteers who served with me, and carrying off to France a great number of families, I published on the 14th of December, the same year, a solemn Declaration, composed of 23 Articles, the first of which ran thus: *In Navarre, a war of Extermination, without quarter, is declared against the French Army, without distinction of soldiers or chiefs, not excepting the Emperor of the French.* And this sort of warfare I carried on for some time, keeping always in the Valley of Roncal a great depôt of prisoners, so that if the enemy hung or shot one of my officers, I did the same with four of his; if one of my soldiers, I did the same with twenty of his. In this manner I succeeded in terrifying him,

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El bloquéo de Pamplona, que, en consecuencia de otro Articulo de dicha Declaracion, incesantemente y con el mayor rigor sostúbe 22 meses à costa de muchas batallas en las inmediaciones y aun en las mismas puertas de la Ciudad, fué causa de que esta importante plaza, apurada hasta el ultimo extremo, se rindiese por hambre en Noviembre de 1813 à las tropas nacionales. El General España tubo la suerte de entrar alli, cuando disposiciones inesperadas me habian llamado à otro punto.

Los Generales Franceses contra quienes hice este campaña son Dorsenne, Claussel, Abbé, Cafarelli, Soullier, Reillè, Harispe, Lafourrie, D'Armagnac, D'Agoult, La

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and obliged him to propose to me the cessation of so atrocious a system, which was accordingly agreed to.

The blockade of Pampeluna, which, in consequence of another Article of this Declaration, I kept up unintermittingly, with the greatest rigour, for the space of 22 months, at the expense of many battles in the vicinity, and even at the very gates of the City, compelled that important fortress, reduced to the last extremity, to surrender in November 1813 to the National Troops. General España had the good fortune to enter it, when unexpected orders called me to another point.

The French Generals, against whom I conducted this campaign, were: Dorsenne, Claussel, Abbé, Cafarelli, Soullier, Reille, Harispe, Lafourrie, D'Armagnac, D'Agoult,

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Coste, Bourgeats, Bison, Dufourg, Cassan, Panetier, Barbot, Roquet, Paris, con otros muchos. Y aunque hubo á la vez dentro de Navarra 18 de ellos ocupados en perseguirme, súpe burlar los esfuerzos de todos.

Nunca sufrí sorpresa. Solo al amanecer del 23 de Abril de 1812, vendido por el partidario Malcarado que estaba de acuerdo con el General Panetier y habia retirado las abanzadas sobre Robres, me ví cercado en la poblacion por 1,000 infantes y 200 caballos, y acometido por cinco hùsares en la puerta misma de la casa de mi alojamiento: Pero defendiendome de estos ultimos con la tranca de la propia puerta, única arma que tenia à mano, mientras mi asistente Luis Gaston me preparaba el caballo, y montando en seguida con auxilio suyo, salí, los ahuyenté y perseguí por

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La Coste, Bourgeats, Bison, Dufourg, Cassan, Panetier, Barbot, Roquet, Paris, with many others; and although at one time there were 18 of them, in Navarre, engaged in pursuit of me, still I found means of baffling the endeavours of all.

I never suffered a surprise. Once, on the 23d April, 1812, at break of day, having been sold by the Partizan Malcarado, who had previously made his arrangements with General Panetier, and had withdrawn the advanced guard from before Robres, I saw myself surrounded in the town by 1,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, and was attacked by five hussars at the very door of the house where I lodged: I defended myself from these latter with the bar of the door, the only weapon I had at hand, while my attendant, Louis Gaston, was saddling my horse; and mounting immediately, with his

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la calle, quité à uno de ellos el brazo de un tajo, reuní luego algunos de mis valientes, dí muchas embestidas al enemigo, rescaté à varios de mis soldados y oficiales que habian sido hechos prisioneros, y continué batiendome tres cuartos de hora largos para que pudieran salvarse los demas. A este asistente lo conservo siempre à mi lado como un amigo. A Malcarado y el suyo los hice fusilar el dia inmediato; mientras se ahorcaba à tres Alcaldes y un Cura Parroco, mezclados tambien en el complót.

En medio de tantos travajos y fatigas como me rodearon continuamente, y que apenas me dejaban un momento de reposo, *no habiendo contado jamas con recurso alguno*

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assistance, I sallied forth, charged them, followed them up the street, cut off an arm of one of them at one blow, immediately collected some of my men, charged the enemy several times, rescued many of my soldiers and officers who had been made prisoners, and continued the contest for more than three quarters of an hour, in order that the remainder might escape. This Louis Gaston I always retain about my person as a friend. The next day I caused Malcarado and his attendant to be shot; while three Alcaldes and a Parish Priest, likewise concerned in the plot, were hanging.

Amidst the numberless toils and anxieties by which I was continually surrounded, and which scarcely allowed me a moment's repose, *never having counted upon any assistance*

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del Gobierno ni pecuniario ni de otra especie, (son palabras de mi oja de servicios) pude creár, organizár, disciplinár y mantenér una Dibision de Infanteria y Caballeria compuesta de nueve regimientos de la 1ª arma, y de dos regimientos de la 2ª, cuyo total al fin de la campaña ascendia à 18,500 hombres.

Mi Dibision tomó al enemigo 13 plazas y fuertes y mas de 14,000 prisioneros; (no incluyendo los del tiempo que no se dió cuartel) con una inmensa artilleria y cantidad de armas, vestuarios, pertrechos de guerra y boca, &ª. &ª. &ª. La entrega de ese numero de prisioneros en Valencia, Alicante, Lerida, Costa de Cantabria y otros puntos adonde los hacia conducir, he acreditado oficialmente.

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from the Government, either pecuniary or otherwise, (these very words are in the Government's statement of my services) I found means to raise, organize, discipline, and maintain a Division of Infantry and Cavalry, composed of nine regiments of the first and two of the latter class, whose total amount at the end of the campaign was 13,500.

My Division took from the enemy, at different periods, 13 strong places and fortresses, and more than 14,000 prisoners, (not including those made during the time that no quarter was given) with an immense number of pieces of artillery, quantities of arms, clothing, stores, and provisions, &c. &c. &c. The delivery of this number of prisoners at Valencia, Alicante, Lerida, the Cantabrian Coast, and at other points to which I ordered them to be taken, I have officially authenticated.

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Del examen consultibo de los estados de muertos, heridos y prisioneros, resulta, que ascienden mis perdidas á 5,000 hombres, y que las del enemigo, comprendidos los prisioneros, no bajan de 40,000.

Pasan de 4,000 los prisioneros Españoles que rescaté; entre ellos algunos Generales muchos Gefes y Oficiales, y no pocos Comandantes de partidas.

Fuí herido repetidas veces de bala de fusil, de sable y de lanza. Llevo todabia una de las balas en el muslo, sin que jamas los facultatibos hayan podido extraermela.

Tube cuatro caballos muertos y varios heridos en accion de guerra.

Mi cabeza estubo puesta à precio por el enemigo desde fines de 1811.

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From an examination of the returns of killed, wounded, and prisoners, the result is, a loss on my side of 5,000 men, while that of the enemy, including their prisoners, does not fall far short of 40,000.

The Spanish prisoners whom I rescued amount to above 4,000; among them were some Generals, many chiefs and officers, and not a few Partizan leaders.

I was several times wounded by musket balls, sabres, or lances. I have still a ball in my thigh, which the surgeons have never been able to extract.

I had four horses killed under me, and several wounded in action.

A price was set upon my head by the enemy from the end of 1811 till the conclusion of the war.

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Establecí para el surtido de mi Dibision fabricas ambulantes de vestuarios, monturas, armas y municiones, que à veces llevaba conmigo, y otras las hacia travajar ò dejaba escondidas, como los almacenes, en los montes.

Para el sostenimiento de dichas fabricas, y para el pago de mis tropas, hospitales, espionage y demas gastos de la guerra, solo conté con estos recursos :—1°. el producto de las aduanas que establecí en la frontera misma de Francia; habiendo llegado à poner en contribucion hasta la aduana Francesa de Yrun, pues se obligó à entregarme y con efecto entregaba mensualmente à mis comisionados 100 onzas de oro: 2°. el de los vienes nacionales, es decir, los rendimientos de todo genero de rentas de la Nacion, fincas de los Comben-

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I established, for the supply of my Division, moveable manufactories of clothing, horse-trappings, arms, and ammunition, which I sometimes transported along with me, and at others I used to keep them at work, or leave them hidden in the same manner as the stores, in the mountains.

For the support of these manufactories, and for the payment of my troops, hospitals, spies, and other expenses of the war, I only counted upon the following resources:—1st. The produce of the Custom-houses which I established upon the very frontiers of France, having even laid under contribution the French Custom-house at Irun, which engaged to deliver to me, and actually used to deliver to my Commissioners, 100 ounces of gold (about £.320 sterling,) monthly. 2d. That of the national property, that is to say, the produce of

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tos, &ª. que exigian los Franceses y se los arrebataba, por lo general, à sus comboyes: 3º. las presas que, ademas, hacía à estos: 4º. las multas con que castigaba à algunos malos españoles: 5º. algunos donatibos de nacionales y extrangeros.

Jamás impuse à los pueblos contribucion alguna ordinaria ni extraordinaria: ni les exigí sino las raciones de pan, vino, carne, y cebada para los caballos, con que contribuían gustosos. El Gobierno mismo lo dice asi en mi oja de servicios.

En el año de 1812 instalé con motibo del bloquéo de Pamplona un Tribunal de Justicia que residía cerca de mis tropas, vajo la misma forma en que estaba el de

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every branch of the National Revenue, rents of Convent lands, &c., which the French used to exact, and I generally took from their convoys. 3d. Other booty which I obtained from the latter. 4th. The fines with which I used to punish some disaffected Spaniards. 5th. Some donations made by natives and foreigners.

Never did I impose a contribution either ordinary or extraordinary on the towns: Nor did I exact any thing but rations of bread, wine, meat, and barley for my cavalry, which they willingly furnished.—The Government itself uses these very words in its statement of my services.

In the year 1812, on account of the blockade of Pampeluna, I established a tribunal of justice, which used to reside near my troops, under the same form as

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Corte y Consejo de Navarra, adonde acudieron los pueblos de ella, los de las Provincias de Alaba y Guipuzcoa, y finalmente los del alto Aragon à ventilar sus competencias.

Hice tambien que se me reuniese el Tribunal Eclesiastico que hasta entonces habia existido dentro de Pamplona, obligandole à salir de esta plaza; y asi acabé de cortar todos los recursos à los Franceses.

Cuando fuí nombrado *Comandante General del alto Aragon*, mi primer cuidado fué purgar este pais de las cuadrillas de hombres armados que lo vejaban de muchas maneras, só pretexto de hacer en èl la guerra; y despues de haber establecido igual sistema que en Navarra, formé tres batallones de infanteria y dos escuadrones

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that of the Court and Council of Navarre, to which the people of that country resorted, as well as those of the provinces of Alaba and Guipuzcoa, and even those of High Aragon, for the settling of their differences.

I likewise obliged the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, which had till then resided at Pampeluna, to leave that fortress, and join me; and thus I at last cut off all the resources of the French.

When I was named *Commandant-General of High Aragon*, my first care was to clear that country of the bands of armed men who harassed it in various ways, under pretence of carrying on the war there; and after having established a system like that in Navarre, I formed three batallions of in-

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de caballeria, que sirvieron para aumentar mis fuerzas.

A principios de 1813, reuní ambos mandos por disposicion del Gobierno que me nombró *Gefe Politico;* destino cuyas funciones desempeñé, procurando abrir las fuentes de la pública prosperidad y hacer reinar por todas partes el buen orden.

Hecha la paz, el Rey Fernando que habia ya entrado en Madrid y deseaba conocerme, me embió su Real permiso para pasar à la Corte, como lo verifiqué à mediados de Julio de 1814.

En los 25 dias que permanecí en Madrid, obteniendo audiencias reservadas del Rey, hice cuanto estúbo de mi parte por convencerle de la equivocada marcha que

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fantry, and two squadrons of cavalry, which served to augment my forces.

At the beginning of 1813, the Government added to my military command the office of *Political Chief*, the functions of which I discharged, by endeavouring to open the sources of public prosperity, and to maintain order everywhere.

Peace being concluded, King Ferdinand, who had already entered Madrid, and wished to know me personally, sent me his Royal permission to go to Court, which I did about the middle of July, 1814.

During the 25 days that I remained in Madrid, obtaining private audiences from the King, I did all in my power to convince him of the mistaken course he had been

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seguía desde su regreso à España, y lo ominosas que le eran las personas de que estaba rodeado.

El resultado fué dispertar una antigua intriga cuyo obgeto consistía en hacer que los regimientos de la Dibision de Navarra, ya muy de antemano igualados con los demas del Egercito, se convirtiesen en cuerpos *francos:* lo que dibulgado diestramente entre ellos como cosa resuelta, prodùjo la desercion inmediata de 2,500 hombres; y el pretexto de esta, una Real Orden mandandome que sin demora me presentase en mi Dibision è hiciese juzgar militarmente à los desertores. Una simple proclama, dada en el momento que llegué à Navarra, bastó para que se reuniesen à sus banderas.

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pursuing ever since his return to Spain, and of the inauspicious character of the persons by whom he was surrounded.

The result of this was the renewal of an old intrigue, the object of which was to cause the regiments of the Division of Navarre, which had been long before placed upon the same footing as the rest of the army, to be converted into *free* corps; which circumstance being dextrously divulged among them as a thing resolved upon, caused the instantaneous desertion of 2,500 men; and this furnished a pretext for the issuing of a Royal Order, commanding my immediate presence in my Division, to bring the deserters to a military trial. A simple proclamation, published the moment I reached Navarre, was sufficient to make them return to their colours.

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Continué todabia à la cabeza de la Dibision, hasta que por mi tentatiba sobre Pamplona la noche del 25 al 26 de Setiembre, con el obgeto que manifestaré hoy por primera vez, de *proclamar la Constitucion y las Cortes* (como el Gobierno me lo tiene confesado en mi oja de servicios) no pudiendo permanecer mas en España, pasé à Francia el 4 de Octubre de dicho año de 1814: momento infausto, pues me separaba de mi Patria y de mis valientes compañeros de armas, que tantos dias de gloria me habian proporcionado darle. ¡ Loor eterno les sea tributado !

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I still continued to command the Division, until my attempt upon Pampeluna on the night of the 25th of September—with the object, which I will now disclose for the first time, of *proclaiming the Constitution and the Cortes* (as the Government confessed in its statement of my services)—rendering it impossible for me to remain any longer in Spain, I crossed over into France on the 4th of October of the said year, 1814. Unhappy moment which separated me from my native land, and from my brave companions in arms, who had enabled me to give it so many days of glory. Eternal praise be to their names!

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MI PRIMERA EMIGRACION

Y

CAMPAÑA DE LA LIBERTAD.

Emigrado en Francia y otros paises desde 4 de Octubre de 1814, hasta 22 de Febrero de 1820, me dediqué à adquirir todos aquellos conocimientos con que algun dia esperaba ser util à mi Patria, cuya felicidad y cuya gloria no perdia de vista un solo instante.

El Conde de Casa-Flores, Embajador de España en Paris, arrogandose facultades que no le competian, hizo que se me pren-

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MY FIRST EMIGRATION

AND

CAMPAIGN OF LIBERTY.

An emigrant in France and other countries from the 4th of October, 1814, till the 22d of February, 1820, I applied myself to the acquirement of that knowledge by which, on some future day, I hoped to become useful to my country, whose prosperity and glory I never lost sight of for a single moment.

Count Casa-Flores, Spanish Ambassador at Paris, assuming an authority to which he had no right, caused me to be imprisoned

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diese luego de mi llegada à aquella Corte. Como 20 horas permanecí en la carcel de la Prefectura de Policia; pero triunfé por fin de sus maniobras, y à los cinco dias tube el gusto de verlo subir al coche que lo debia poner fuera de Francia.

Las leyes del pais, cuyo auxilio habia yo implorado, me protegieron desde luego, y el Gobierno de Luis XVIII. dejó à mi eleccion el parage donde queria vivir, que recayó en el pueblo de Bar-sur-Aube en la Champagne, al que me trasladé. Tambien me señaló aquel Gobierno una pension, asi como à algunas de las personas que me habian seguido: esta pension, y los auxilios de la amistad, formaron todos nuestros medios de subsistencia.

Por marzo de 1815 entró en Francia

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upon my arrival at that Capital. I remained confined for about 20 hours in the prison of the Prefecture of Police; but at length I triumphed over his manœuvres, and within five days had the pleasure of seeing him get into the carriage which was to take him out of France.

The laws of the country, whose assistance I had besought, took me immediately under their protection, and the Government of Louis XVIII. left to my choice the place where I wished to reside: I selected the town of Bar-sur-Aube, in Champagne, to which I repaired. A pension also was assigned by that government to me, and to some of those who had followed me: this pension, and the assistance of private friendship, formed all our means of subsistence.

In March 1815, Napoleon, leaving the

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Napoleon, procedente de la Ysla de Elba; è inmediatamente pedi mi pasaporte para Suiza, que se me negó por tres veces. Napoleon queria atraerme à su partido: sus agentes, me presentaban proposiciones harto lisongeras.... tan lisongeras que pudieran hacer titubear.... Pero Napoleon habia sido enemigo de mi Patria: yo no podia transigir con èl. Sali, pues, de Bar-sur-Aube sin pasaporte al amanecer del 29 de Mayo; y en la noche del mismo dia, ya llegó à alli un oficial embiado por èl para conducirme à su presencia. Cuando con la mayor precipitacion, y perdido hasta mi equipage, puse el pie en territorio Suizo, los Gendarmes que me perseguian, estaban à tiro de pistola. No volví à Francia hasta que Napoleon habia salido para Santa Helena; y entonces fixó mi residencia en la capital.

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Island of Elba, entered France; I immediately demanded my passport for Switzerland, which was denied me three several times. Napoleon wished to draw me over to his service: his agents made me proposals sufficiently enticing....so enticing that they might have induced a man to waver....But Napoleon had been an enemy to my country: I could not come to terms with him. I left Bar-sur-Aube, without a passport, at break of day on the 29th of May, and the same night an officer sent by him arrived there to conduct me to his presence. My escape was so precipitate, that I lost even my baggage, and set foot on the Swiss territory just as the Gendarmes, who were in pursuit of me, had come within pistol-shot. I did not return to France till Napoleon had set out for St. Helena, and I then fixed my residence in the Capital.

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Publicada la Constitucion en España à principios de 1820, y vencidas las dificultades que se me opusieron para mi salida de Paris, en donde me hallaba observado noche y dia por la Policia, atravesé la Francia y entré en Navarra el 23 de Febrero del mismo año.

Aunque desprovisto de todo genero de recursos, y no teniendo lugar seguro, à costa de desvelos, rodeado de nieves, y perseguido por todas partes de orden del Conde de Ezpeleta, (que mandaba en Navarra como Virey y Capitan General, lo mismo que al tiempo de mi emigracion) me proporcioné algunas armas y caballos; y habiendoseme reunido un corto numero de oficiales, fuí el primero que en aquella provincia proclamó por segunda vez la Constitucion, segun se echa de ver por mi proclama de 2 de Marzo. En ella indiqué

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When the Constitution was published in Spain at the beginning of 1820, having overcome the obstacles which were opposed to my departure from Paris, where I was closely observed by the police, I crossed France and entered Navarre on the 23d of February of the same year.

Although destitute of resources, and without a resting place, passing many sleepless nights, and in the midst of snows, and though I was pursued in all directions by order of Count Ezpeleta (who then commanded as Viceroy and Captain-General of Navarre, as at the time of my emigration) I got possession of some arms and horses; and a few officers having joined me, I was the first who proclaimed the Constitution for the second time in that province, as may be seen by my proclamation of the 2d March. In it I clearly

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claramente la marcha que la revolucion debia seguir. ¡Ojalá algunos hubieran pensado como yo! Un egemplar de este documento que guardo en mi poder, será, acaso, el unico que existe: tal fué el empeño de que no circulase.

A pocos dias, habiendo permitido las nieves transitar los caminos, me trasladé à la Villa de Santisteban, en donde à la cabeza de 20 hombres hice la publicacion solemne de la Constitucion, dirigiendo ordenes, ò embiando Comisionados, à los pueblos para que egecutasen otro tanto.

Pamplona, capital de Navarra, que lo verificó asi el 11 de Marzo, me abrió sus puertas, y entrado en esta plaza, recibí alli luego el nombramiento de *Capitan General del Egercito y Provincia de Navarra*, hecho por el Rey con fecha 21 del mismo mes,

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pointed out the course the Revolution ought to take. Oh, that others had thought as I did! A copy of this document, which I still keep by me, may, perhaps, be the only one in existence: such were the pains taken to prevent its circulation.

A few days after, the snow having melted and left the roads passable, I proceeded to Villa de Santisteban, where, at the head of 20 men, I solemnly published the Constitution, circulating orders, or sending Commissioners to the villages to do the same.

Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, opened its gates to me on the 11th of March. Immediately upon entering that city, I received my appointment to the rank of *Captain General of the Army and Province of Navarre*, signed by the King,

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confirmandome, ademas, mi ultimo empleo de *Mariscal de Campo.*

Desde la Capitania General de Navarra preví con mucha anticipacion todos ò la mayor parte de los sucesos que despues ocurrieron, principalmente en aquella provincia. Los expuse con energia al Gobierno; pero por desgracia sin fruto. Desatendido, y falto por consiguiente de los medios necesarios para reprimir los movimientos que temia, y que bien pronto estallaron en Navarra, pedí mi translacion à igual destino de *Capitan General* en Galicia; lo que me fué otorgado en 16 de Enero de 1821.

En nuebe meses que obtube el mando

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and dated the 21st of the same month, which moreover confirmed my late rank of *Major General.*

From the time I began to act as Captain General of Navarre, I foresaw long beforehand all or the greater part of the occurrences which took place, particularly in that province. I represented them in strong terms to the government, but, unhappily, without effect. Finding my remonstrances disregarded, and consequently wanting the necessary means of repressing the commotions which I feared, and which very soon after broke out in Navarre, I requested to be removed to the same rank of *Captain General* in Galicia, which was granted me on the 16th of January, 1821.

During the nine months that I held the

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militar de Galicia desde fines de Febrero de 1821 hasta principios de Diciembre del mismo, recorrí la mayor parte del distrito, procuré mejorar el estado de las plazas y fuertes, arreglar el pequeño Egercito que alli habia, cortar abusos de toda especie, rectificar è inflamar el espiritu publico. Con eso, y con proteger las vigorosas disposiciones del Gefe Politico Puente, mientras el resto de la España herbia en facciosos, se conservó aquel vasto pais sin uno solo de ellos; siempre destruyendo en su origen las maquinaciones de los enemigos de la libertad. El manifiesto que di en Leon con fecha 5 de Marzo de 1822 es uno de los documentos mas propios para conocer las ocurrencias de los ultimos dias de mi mando en Galicia.

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military command of Galicia, viz. from the end of February, 1821, till the beginning of December of the same year, I visited the greater part of the province, endeavoured to improve the condition of the strong places and fortresses, to put on a regular footing the little Army I found there, to correct abuses of all sorts, and to rectify and animate the public spirit. By these means, and by the protection I afforded to the vigorous measures of the Political Chief, Puente, while the rest of Spain was overrun with the factious, that extensive province was kept entirely free from them, the machinations of the enemies of liberty being always destroyed in the germ. The manifesto which I published in Leon on the 5th of March, 1822, is one of the documents the best adapted to explain the occurrences of the latter days of my command in Galicia.

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Subsistí de cuartel en Leon desde mediados de Enero de 1822 hasta fines de Julio del propio año; durante cuya epoca hice con los Voluntarios Nacionales el servicio de simple soldado en repetidos momentos criticos. Yo no sé si esa ú otras pequeñeces habrian tenido alguna influencia: el hecho es, que tambien la provincia de Leon se mantubo libre de facciosos todo aquel tiempo.

Ya la faccion liberticida habia progresado de tal modo que el Rey por su Decreto de 23 de Julio de 1822 se vió precisado à declarar en estado de guerra el pais comprendido en el 7° distrito, (Cataluña) ordenando que fuese ocupado militarmente por un Egercito de operaciones, y nombrandome para mandarlo *en*

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I remained in quarters at Leon from the middle of January, 1822, till the end of July of the same year, during which time I served with the National Volunteers as a private soldier, on several critical occasions. I do not know whether this and some other trifling circumstances may have had any influence: the fact is, that the province of Leon also was kept free from disturbance, during the whole of that time.

Already had the liberticidal faction made such progress, that the King, in a Decree of the 23d of July, 1822, found himself obliged to declare in a state of warfare the territory comprehended in the 7th District (Cataluña), ordering that it should be occupied in a military way by an Army of operations, and naming me Commander *in Chief*. I immediately

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Gefe. Ynmediatamente pasé à Madrid, y de alli à mi destino.

Tambien desde Zaragoza con fecha 2 de Setiembre manifesté energicamente al Gobierno la falsa idea que se le habia hecho concebir, y en que subsistía, del verdadero estado de Cataluña; la ineficacia de las fuerzas y recursos que se habian puesto à mi disposicion para tranquilizar aquel pais; y las dificultades de conseguirlo: concluyendo con decir *yo deberia renunciar hoy el mando; pero acometo la empresa por lo mismo que es arriesgada.*

Entré en territorio Catalán el 9 de dicho mes con solos 803 infantes y 275 caballos, y el 10 del mismo tomé en Lerida el mando del Egercito. 33,000 facciosos

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set out for Madrid, and from thence went to my station.

Even from Saragossa I represented to the Government, in an energetic dispatch, dated the 2d of September, the false idea it had been made to conceive, and which it still entertained, of the real state of Cataluña; the inefficacy of the forces and resources which had been placed at my disposal for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to that province, and the difficulties of effecting it; and concluded by saying: *I ought to renounce the command this day; but I undertake the enterprise for the very reason that it is perilous.*

I entered the territory of Cataluña on the 9th of the same month, with only 803 infantry and 275 cavalry, and on the 10th assumed the command of the Army at Le-

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dueños de casi todo el pais, posesionados de varias plazas y fuertes, protegidos por mucha parte de los pueblos, y lo que mas hace, un centro de unidad ò Gobierno cual era la titulada *Regencia de España* establécida en Urgél; he aqui los elementos que se presentaban en Cataluña. Pero puesto al frente de 1766 infantes y los mismos 275 caballos, principié con ellos el 13 mis operaciones; y un mes y medio me fué bastante para organizar mi escaso Egercito, levantar el sitio de Cerbera, y apoderarme de Castell-fullit.

Ordené la destruccion total de los edificios y fortalezas de este ultimo pueblo en castigo de la tenacidad de sus rebeldes habitantes y defensores, por desagravio del

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rida. The factious, to the number of 33,000, were masters of almost all the country, in possession of various strong places and fortresses, protected by a great part of the towns, and, what was of still greater importance, had a centre of union or government, namely, the titular *Regency of Spain*, established in Urgel; these were the elements that presented themselves in Cataluña. But at the head of 1,766 infantry, and the 275 horse, already mentioned, I commenced operations on the 13th, and a month and a half sufficed me to organize my small army, to raise the siege of Cerbera, and to take possession of Castell-fullit.

I ordered the total destruction of the buildings and fortifications of this last-mentioned town, as a punishment for the obstinacy of its rebellious inhabitants and

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desprecio con que contestaron à las repetidas intimaciones que les hice, y para escarmiento de los demas. Sobre sus ruinas mandé poner la inscripcion siguiente:

AQUI EXISTIO CASTELL-FULLIT.

PUEBLOS,

TOMAD EGEMPLO:

NO ABRIGUEIS A LOS ENEMIGOS DE LA PATRIA.

Esta medida, dictada y egecutada al principio de la Campaña, produjo los efectos mas saludables, evitando el derramamiento de mucha sangre y acceleràndo considerablemente la pacificacion de Cataluña.

El mes siguiente tomé la plaza de Balaguér; batí y derroté à los facciosos en Torá, Artesa, Orcau, Pobla, Bellber, y

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defenders, and by way of retorting the contempt with which they replied to the repeated messages I sent them, as well as for a warning to the rest. Upon its ruins I ordered the following inscription to be placed:

HERE STOOD CASTELL-FULLIT.

TOWNS,

TAKE WARNING:

SHELTER NOT THE ENEMIES OF YOUR COUNTRY.

This measure, ordered and executed at the beginning of the campaign, produced the most salutary effects, prevented the spilling of much blood, and considerably hastened the return of tranquillity to Cataluña.

The next month I took the strong place of Balaguer, beat and routed the factious at Torá, Artesa, Orcan, Pobla, Bellber,

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Puigcerdá, siempre con una tercera parte, ò menos, de fuerza; y à vista y tolerancia de las tropas Francesas que formaban el *Cordon sanitario*, arrojé en territorio Francés los memorables dias 28 y 29 de Noviembre millares de aquellos alucinados Españoles, confundidos con la misma *Regencia*, à quien privé hasta de sus papeles y efectos de Secretaria, que hoy dia conservo.

Vuelto de Puigcerdá el 4 de Diciembre sobre la Seo de Urgél, desalojé à los facciosos de esta Ciudad, ocupandola el 8, y formalicé en seguida el bloquéo de sus fortalezas.

En este bloquéo, que duró 74 dias, contra una numerosa, fanatizada y decidida guarnicion, cuyas provisiones de boca y guerra eran inmensas; sin una sola pieza

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and Puigcerdá, always with one-third, or less, of their force; and in sight of the French troops, forming the *Cordon sanitaire*, who did not interfere, I drove into the French territory, on the memorable 28th and 29th of November, thousands of those deluded Spaniards, and among them the *Regency* itself, which I deprived even of its papers and the effects of its Secretary's office, which I preserve to this day.

On my return from Puigcerdá, the 4th of December, to the Seo de Urgel, I dislodged the factious from that city, which I occupied on the 8th, and immediately began a regular blockade of its fortresses.

In this blockade, which lasted 74 days, against a numerous, fanatical, and resolute garrison, whose provisions and ammunition were immense; without one single cannon

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que oponer à 46 montadas de artilleria; en un pais misero y esteril; en la estacion mas cruda y rigorosa; casi desnudos mis soldados, y aun à veces sin el necesario alimento por la dificultad de las comunicaciones; teniendo que cubrir una escabrosisima y dilatada linea, para la que apenas bastarian sextiplicadas fuerzas; y ultimamente, presentando al mundo el extraordinario egemplo de ser tantos los bloqueadores como los bloqueados; venció, por fin, la constancia y el heroismo, y 600 facinerosos y ladrones que extraidos de las carceles componian en su mayor parte la faccion del cabecilla Romagosa, defensora de las fortalezas de Urgél, expiaron sus delitos la mañana de la evacuacion, quedando tendidos sobre el campo.

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to oppose to 46 mounted pieces of artillery; in a miserable and barren country; in the sharpest and most rigorous season; my men almost naked and sometimes even without a due supply of food, caused by the difficulty of communication; having to cover an extremely rugged and long line, for doing which six times the number of men would scarcely be sufficient; and lastly, presenting to the world the extraordinary example of the besiegers being of the same number as the besieged; still in the end constancy and heroism were victorious, and 600 profligates and robbers taken out of the prisons, who formed the greater part of the faction of the ringleader Romagosa, the defender of the fortresses of Urgel, expiated their crimes on the morning of the evacuation, by their death upon the field.

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Entre las varias salidas que hice mientras tanto, una fué la de Bellber, pueblo á que con una pequeña columna de infanteria y caballeria que en junto compondria 580 hombres, pasé personalmente el 9 de Diciembre, y donde subsistí hasta el 31 del mismo, imponiendo con tan cortas fuerzas en todo ese tiempo à las diversas facciones que por las alturas del frente proyectaban caer sobre la Cerdaña, devastar aquel pais, è incomodar, acaso, el bloquéo de Urgél.

El 26 de dicho mes marché à la cabeza de mis Ayudantes, 70 soldados escogidos y 40 paisanos, à recibir las municiones que por estar proximo á faltarme en Urgél y en otros puntos, me sacaba el General Roten hasta medio camino de Bagá à Bellber. De esta expedicion, verificada

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Among the various expeditions I made during that time, was one to the town of Bellber, to which I went in person on the 9th of December, with a small column of infantry and cavalry, which together might amount to 580 men: I staid there till the 31st of the same month; keeping in check during all that time, with that small force, the different factious bands which threatened to descend by the mountains in front, upon the vallies of Cerdaña, to lay waste that country, and interrupt, perhaps, the blockade of Urgel.

On the 26th of the same month I marched, at the head of my Adjutants, 70 soldiers, and 40 countrymen, to receive the stores which, as my own were nearly exhausted at Urgel and other points, General Roten was bringing to me as far as half way from Bagá to Bellber. This

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por montañas casi inaccesibles, abriendonos camino entre espantosas moles de nieve y yelo, y con el riesgo inminente de perecer todos à cada paso, es bien seguro que los Cerdanes no perderán nunca la memoria.

Ascendí al empleo de *Teniente General* por Real determinacion del mismo dia 26 de Diciembre de 1822.

En 20 de Enero de 1823 fuí electo *Comandante-General del 7ª distrito*, reuniendo este mando al de *General en Gefe del Egército de operaciones* del mismo, que despues se llamó 1º de ese nombre.

Dueño de las fortalezas de Urgél el 3 de Febrero de 1823, atravesè por medio de los facciosos con la escasa comitiba de siete

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expedition, performed over mountains almost inaccessible, where we had to cut our way through tremendous masses of snow and ice, in imminent danger of all perishing at every step, I am confident the inhabitants of Cerdaña will never forget.

I was promoted to the rank of *Lieutenant-General*, by a Royal Order of the same date, 26th of December, 1822.

On the 20th of January, 1823, I was named *Commandant-General of the 7th District*, and united this command with that of *General-in-Chief of the Army of Operations* of the same district, which was afterwards denominated the 1*st* of that name.

Having become master of the fortresses of Urgél on the 3d of February 1823, I traversed, passing through the midst of the

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personas (entre ellas el Yntendente del Egercito) las 38 leguas que hay desde aquel punto à Barcelona; me presenté el 10 repentinamente en esta plaza; excité el patriotismo de sus habitantes; reuní algunos fondos que necesitaba para socorrer mis tropas; y entré ya de regreso el 15 en Cerbera. Alli recibí el 19 el nombramiento de *Caballero Gran Cruz de la Orden Nacional y Militar de San Fernando* con que el Rey me habia condecorado el 13 del mismo, al saber la toma de dichas fortalezas.

Como entonces era la primera vez que podia obrar en convinacion con las demas Dibisiones del Egercito, dispúse un movi-

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factious with the small retinue of seven persons (among whom was the Intendant of the Army), the 38 leagues between that place and Barcelona; I made my appearance on the 10th unexpectedly in that city; I roused the patriotism of its inhabitants, obtained some money, of which I was in want, for the relief of my troops; and by the 15th had already re-entered Cerbera. There I received, on the 19th, my appointment to the rank of *Knight Grand Cross of the National and Military Order of St. Ferdinand*, with which the King had invested me on the 13th of the same month, upon hearing of the capture of the above mentioned fortresses.

As that was the first time that I had it in my power to act in concert with the other Divisions of the Army, I directed a

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miento general, por el que formando una estensa linea desde Campredon à Figueras, y haciendo reunir dentro de ella todas las grandes masas de facciosos, las obligué à abandonar el suelo Español y entrar en Francia simultaneamente el 17 de Marzo.

Quedaba ya libre la Cataluña. Asi es que por mi proclama de 1° de Abril dige que *la faccion estaba desecha;* que *habian cesado las operaciones*; y tomé las medidas conducentes, tanto para exterminar las pequeñas cuadrillas de ilusos, convertidos en malhechores, cuanto para evitar que aquella renaciese.

Pero la invasion Francesa iba à verificarse. No me hallaba con gente ni con medios para contrarestarla. Por tanto, convoqué en Vich á los cuatro Gefes Poli-

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general movement to be made, by which, forming an extensive line from Campredon to Figueras, and concentrating within it all the large parties of the factious, I compelled them to quit the Spanish soil, and enter France simultaneously on the 17th of March.

Cataluña was now freed; so that in my proclamation of the 1st of April, I said that *the faction was destroyed*, that *operations had ceased;* and I took the necessary measures, as well for exterminating the small parties of deluded men who had become criminals, as for preventing the faction from reviving.

But the French invasion was about to take place. I had neither men nor means sufficient to arrest their march. I therefore assembled, at Vich, the four Political

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cotis del distrito, acompañados de dos individuos de cada una de sus Diputaciones Provinciales, con los poderes de ellas. Expúseles el triste estado del Egercito; y por resultado de las conferencias tenidas desde el 5 hasta el 8 de Abril, se me acordó, entre otras medidas, un subsidio de 30 millones de reales destinados al aprovisionamiento de las plazas y á sostener las tropas durante el tiempo, que, en la imposibilidad de hacer frente al enemigo, contemplé necesario para fatigarlo, diseminar sus fuerzas, y atacarle con exito. Desgraciadamente, la entrada de los Franceses y facciosos en Cataluña el 13 y 14 por diferentes puntos, impidió hacer efectivo ese subsidio sino en una pequeña parte.

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Chiefs of the District, accompanied by two members of each of the Provincial Deputations, with powers from those bodies. I laid before them the miserable condition of the Army; and the result of our conferences, which lasted from the 5th till the 8th of April, was, among other measures, that a grant of 30 millions of reals de vellon (about 300,000*l.*) was made to me for provisioning the fortresses and maintaining the troops, during the time which, as it was impossible to face the enemy, I deemed necessary for the purpose of harassing him, dispersing his forces, and attacking him with success. Unfortunately, the entrance of the French and the factious into Cataluña on the 13th and 14th, by different sides, prevented me from realizing more than a small part of that grant.

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Sin embargo, las plazas fueron abastecidas en lo posible: sus guarniciones arregladas del modo que habia arvitrio; y con la pequeñisima fuerza de 6,000 hombres, me mantúbe en el campo dos meses y medio largos contra todo el 4º cuerpo del mando del Mariscal Moncey que subia à 20,000 infantes y 2,500 caballos, secundado por 7,000 facciosos, y favorecido como estos por un partido de gran poder y por el mal espiritu de muchos pueblos.

Los movimientos, marchas y contramarchas que al efecto necesité hacer; las cuatro entradas que mientras tanto egecuté en Francia, con el doble obgeto de mober aquel pais, y llamar la atencion de las tropas invasoras, dando asi lugar à que las guarniciones de las plazas de Cata-

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Nevertheless, the fortified places were stored as well as it was possible: the garrisons were put on the best footing circumstances would permit; and with the very scanty force of 6,000 men, I kept the field full two months and a half against the whole of the 4th corps, commanded by General Moncey, which consisted of 20,000 infantry and 2,500 horse, assisted by 7,000 of the factious, and favoured, like the latter, by a very powerful party, and by the bad spirit of many of the towns.

To describe in detail the movements, marches, and counter-marches which I was obliged to make for this end; the four irruptions I made during that time into France, with the double object of exciting that country to rise, and of diverting the attention of the invading troops,

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luña completasen sus viveres por ser el tiempo critico de la cosecha; los peligros de que logré libertarme; y las perdidas que causé al enemigo; fuera obra larga detallar. Los partes de este, y el mapa de Cataluña, son los documentos qne deben consultarse cuando se trate de decidir si en ello y en haber evitado asi que el enemigo se acercase durante tanto tiempo à Barcelona y otras plazas, como deseaba, hubo ò nó algun merito.

La retirada de Nuria à mediados de Junio, sería, por lo menos, memorable, si un temporal inaudito ocurrido la mañana del 14 en la parte mas alta y nevada de Cataluña, levantando una horrorosa ventisca, y haciendo desaparecer todo camino, no hubiese producido la sepa-

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thus enabling the garrisons of the fortresses of Cataluña to complete their provisions, it being the critical time of the harvest; the dangers I surmounted; and the losses I caused the enemy; would be a long work. The enemy's despatches, and the map of Cataluña, are the documents which should be consulted in order to decide the question, whether, in these operations, and having thus prevented the enemy during all this time from approaching Barcelona and other places, as he wished, there was any merit or not.

The retreat from Nuria in the middle of June would at least have been memorable, had not an unheard of tempest which occurred on the morning of the 14th, in the highest and most snowy part of Cataluña, raising a terrible hurricane, and destroying all traces of a road, caused

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racion de mi columna, la perdida de la mitad de ella que quedó prisionera entre multitud de Franceses y facciosos despues de batirse tenazmente, y varias caidas personales mias que me lastimaron considerablemente el pecho, y casi inutilizaron una pierna. Con todo, à expensas de seguir marchando sin intermision 33 horas, perseguido y atacado por fuerzas diez veces mayores, pude salvar el resto y llegar el 15 à las doce de la noche à la Seo de Urgel.

Hubiera sido pronta è indefectiblemente cercado en esta plaza; pero para evitarlo tomé la resolucion de cambiar la gente estropeada que habia llevado por otra de la guarnicion, salir de alli el 19 al amanecer, y à pesar de todos mis males caminar

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the separation of my column, the loss of one-half of it, who were surrounded by great numbers of French troops and of the factious and made prisoners after an obstinate resistance, and several falls to myself, which hurt my breast considerably, and almost deprived me of the use of one of my legs. Notwithstanding, by dint of marching without halting for 33 hours, pursued and attacked by ten times my numbers, I was enabled to save the remainder, and to arrive on the 15th, at 12 o'clock at night, at the Seo de Urgel.

I should have been speedily and inevitably besieged in this fortress, had I not, in order to avoid it, resolved to exchange the disabled men whom I had brought with me for others of the garrison, to leave the place on the 19th at break of day, and notwithstanding all my hurts, to make my

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hasta Barcelona, donde entré el 5 de Julio casi moribundo.

Pribado à esta epoca de muchos valientes que habian sido muertos ò prisioneros, y postrado en un lecho sin esperanzas mas que muy debiles de vida, túbe que lidiar cuatro meses con lo escandaloso de los que se disputaban el mando, creyendome ya muerto, ò lo inexcusable de los que desobedecian mis ordenes, no diré ahora porqué; con el deshonor de unos que abandonaban sus filas, la infamia de otros que hacian entregar las plazas al extrangero; con la fuerza del enemigo en el exterior, y sus manejos é intrigas en el interior; con la exaltacion de estos, el desaliento de aquellos; en fin, con las necesidades mas perentorias y absolutas. Algunos mas exemplares, egecutados durante estos cuatro meses en personas de alta categoría,

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way to Barcelona, which I entered on the 5th of July in almost a dying state.

Deprived at that time of many of my brave companions in arms, who were either killed or made prisoners, and stretched on a bed with very faint hopes of life, I had to contend for four months with the scandalous conduct of those who disputed the command among themselves believing that I was dead, or the inexcusable behaviour of those who disobeyed my orders, I will not at present say with what motive; with the baseness of a number of those who abandoned their ranks, the infamy of others who caused the fortified places to be given up to the foreigner; with the strength of the enemy without, and his manœuvres and intrigues within; with the enthusiasm of some and the dejection of others; and lastly, with the most urgent

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hubieran sido tan justos como provechosos: el mal estubo en que unas veces se me ocultaban ò desfiguraban las cosas por mi delicada situacion, y otras me impedia esta hacer lo que debiera.

No obstante; à fuerza de constancia y de firmeza en las ocasiones apuradas, en los compromisos terribles que me ví, lo superé todo; dispúse cinco salidas de la plaza por tierra; hice egecutar un desembarco en la playa de Mongát, (que hubiera producido importantes resultados, à no serle contraria la suerte de las armas, ya cerca de Figueras) y puedo lisongearme de que la tranquilidad pública, la libertad è independencia nacional se con-

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and absolute want. A few more examples made during these four months, of persons of the higher class, would have been equally just and salutary: the evil lay in this, that sometimes things were concealed from me, or misrepresented to me, on account of the critical state of my health, and at other times it prevented me from doing what I ought.

Nevertheless, by constancy and firmness in the critical emergences, the terrible conjunctures in which I was placed, I surmounted every difficulty: I directed five sallies from the city, by land; I caused a debarkation to be made on the beach of Mongát, (which would have produced important results, if the fortune of arms had not been already adverse, near Figueras) and I flatter myself, that the public tranquillity, liberty, and national independ-

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servaron vajo mi mando hasta el ultimo extremo.

Las fuerzas de que se compuso mi Egercito no llegaron jamas à 21,000 hombres. Solo para guarnecer las diez plazas que hay en Cataluña (entre las cuales dos de 1ª clase) se necesitan 25,000: de manera, que teniendo algunas de ellas con solo la mitad de su dotacion, las mas con dos tercios, y muy rara con el completo, unicamente me quedaban para operar en el campo los 6,000 hombres sobre dichos, à pesar de que siempre sonaron cuatro, cinco, y hasta seis Dibisiones. La cortedad de tales guarniciones, por otra parte, imposibilitaba que estas hiciesen salidas, sino muy cortas, como en muchos casos hubiera convenido.

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ence, were preserved under my command to the last extremity.

The forces of which my Army was composed never amounted to 21,000 men. Only to garrison the ten strong places in Cataluña (of which two are of the 1st class) requires 25,000 men; so that keeping some of them with only half a garrison, the greater part with two-thirds, and scarcely one with its full complement, there only remained, for me to act in the field with, the 6000 men before-mentioned, though they always formed nominally four, five, and even six Divisions. The smallness of these garrisons, on the other hand, did not admit of their making any but very small sallies, the contrary of which would have been convenient in many instances.

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Los recursos pecuniarios recibidos del Gobierno durante esta Campaña solo ascienden à tres millones de reales vellon; pues aunque se embiaron á la Tesoreria del Egercito letras ò libranzas de bastante importe, no eran realizables, y por consiguiente de nada sirvieron. Todo lo demas túbe que proporcionarmelo por mi. Barcelona, entre otros arvitrios, presenció el inusitado de hacer moneda con los cañones.

La correspondencia con el mismo Gobierno fué siempre dificultosa, y en largas temporadas interrumpida: à veces no la túbe sino verbal por los Edecanes que embiaba frecuentemente à exponerle mis apuros y critica posicion..... Y el ultimo oficio del Ministerio, llegado à Barcelona en la noche del 5 de Noviembre,

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The pecuniary resources which were received from the Government during this campaign, amounted to no more than three millions of reales de vellon (about 30,000*l.* sterling), for though bills or orders to a considerable amount were sent to the Treasury of the Army, they were not negotiable, and consequently were of no use. Every thing else I was obliged to find myself. Barcelona, among other expedients, witnessed the unusual one of making money out of the cannons.

My correspondence with the Government was always very difficult, and was interrupted for long periods: sometimes I had only verbal communications through the means of my Aides-de-Camps, whom I frequently sent to make known my distresses and critical situation..... And the last official advice from the Ministry,

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(cuando ya la ocupacion por los enemigos habia tenido lugar) es de fecha 2 de Setiembre; lo que equivale à decir, que desde esta epoca nada súpe por èl de cuanto pasaba en Cadiz. Ni aun la noticia de la salida del Rey de aquella Ciudad la recibí sino por mis espias metidos entre los Franceses.

Por fin: disuelto con las Cortes el Gobierno constitucional; restituido el Rey al poder absoluto; y cuando el Egercito contrario, reforzado por el 5º cuerpo al mando del Mariscal Lauriston, preparaba à las unicas plazas que quedaban defendiendose en Cataluña, *Barcelona*, *Tarragona*, *y Hostalrich*, un sitio formidable ¿ qué habia que hacer? La prolongacion

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which arrived at Barcelona on the night of the 5th of November (when the enemy had taken possession) is dated the 2d of September; which is equivalent to saying, that from that time I knew nothing by official channels of what was passing in Cadiz. Even the news of the King's departure from that city I only received by means of the spies I had among the French.

At last, when the Constitutional Government was dissolved, with the Cortes; the King restored to absolute power; and when the enemy's army, reinforced by the 5th Corps, under the command of Marshal Lauriston, was threatening a formidable siege to the only places in Cataluña which continued to defend themselves, *Barcelona, Tarragona, and Hostalrich;* what was to be done? To prolong the defence of them was next

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de la defensa, rayaba en lo imposible; esperanza, no habia ninguna; y sepultarse entre ruinas, era absolutamente inutil. Tan graves como dolorosos motibos me obligaron à concluir con el Mariscal Moncey para la ocupacion de dichas tres plazas el tratado de 1° de Noviembre de 1823; tratado digno de los brabos del 1er Egercito de operaciones, digno de los habitantes de aquellas, y que puede colocarse entre los mas honorificos de que hay egémplo.

Consecuente à lo estipulado por èl, se puso à mi disposicion el Bergantin de guerra Francés *Le Cuirassier* para que me condugese, como á los oficiales è individuos que podian seguirme, al puerto de Ynglaterra que designáre; y embarcado con ellos la noche del 7 de Noviembre, y bien asistido durante la navegacion, llegué à Plymouth y desembarqué alli el 30 de

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to impossible; hope there was none; and to bury ourselves in their ruins was absolutely useless. These strong and afflicting motives obliged me to conclude with Marshal Moncey, for the occupation of those three places, the treaty of the 1st of November, 1823; a treaty worthy of the brave men of the 1st Army of Operations, worthy of the inhabitants of those cities, and which may be ranked among the most honourable on record.

According to its stipulations, the French brig of war, *Le Cuirassier*, was placed at my disposal, to convey me, together with the officers and individuals that were able to follow me, to whatever port of England I should fix upon; and having embarked with them on the night of the 7th of November, and receiving every attention during the voyage, I arrived at Plymouth,

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dicho mes entre tan alhagueñas cuanto inexplicables demostraciones. Las mismas se me prodigaron despues en todos los puntos que fuí conocido hasta Londres, donde entré y permanecí los cuatro primeros dias sin que nadie lo supiese.

Cuando llegué à esta Capital, aunque ya curado del pecho, sufria extraordinariamente de la pierna. No podia montar à caballo ni marchar à pie sino es apoyado con el brazo izquierdo en otra persona, y un pequeño báculo en la mano derecha. Casi se desesperanzaba de mi recobro; pero à los cuidados, al desinterés de Sir Astley Cooper, y á los que por su mediacion, con igual desprendimiento me dispensó en Bath el Doctor Gaitskell, debo el hallarme hoy tan bueno como estaba antes de la jornada de Nuria. Sería yo un ingrato si

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where I landed on the 30th of that month, amidst expressions of public feeling as flattering as they were surprising to me. The same were afterwards lavished on me at every place where I happened to be known till my arrival at London, which I entered, and inhabited for the four first days without any one knowing it.

When I arrived at the Capital, although already cured of the injuries in my breast, I suffered very much in my leg. I could not mount on horseback, nor even walk without leaning on some one with my left arm, and having a small walking stick in my right hand. My recovery was almost despaired of; but thanks to the care, the disinterested attentions of Sir Astley Cooper, and to those which through his mediation were paid me, with equal disinterestedness, by Doctor Gaitskell at Bath, I now enjoy as good health as be-

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desaprovechase la ocasion de dar aqui à ambos este público testimonio de mi reconocimiento.

Ya, pues, restablecido de todos mis males fisicos, sobrellevo mi segunda emigracion en esta Corte; en la que, à pesar de mis deseos y repetida manifestacion de querer vivir obscura y aisladamente, subsisto obsequiado, honrado, considerado cada dia mas, y experimentando sin interrupcion aquellos rasgos de nobleza, de generosidad y de virtud que solo son propios de un pueblo libre y grande.

FRANCISCO ESPOZ Y MINA.

Londres,
20 *de Diciembre de* 1824.

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fore the retreat of Nuria. I should be ungrateful if I did not avail myself of this opportunity of rendering to both those gentlemen this public testimony of my gratitude.

Recovered now from all my physical sufferings, I bear up with my second emigration in this capital; where, notwithstanding the desire I feel and have repeatedly expressed, of living in an obscure and retired manner, I still continue to receive increasing marks of attention, honor, and regard, and to experience uninterruptedly those traits of nobleness, of generosity and virtue, which are peculiar to a free and a great people.

FRANCISCO ESPOZ Y MINA.

London,
December 20, 1824.

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